

A View from the Top

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During Operation ALLIED FORCE

What This IS...and Is Not

This is NOT:

- **The story of the ALLIED FORCE air campaign**
- **Statistics, facts and figures**
- **What your staffs and component commanders can tell you better than I**
- **All good news**

This IS an attempt to give you:

- **A senior Commander's unique perspectives and very personal opinions**
- **Thoughts on how the next Joint Force Commander**

can fight his campaign even better

- A springboard for open and frank discussion

There Is Much Good News

The most precise and lowest collateral damage air campaign... in history

- **Achieved all objectives... at the strategic, operational and tactical levels of war**
- **Zero aircrews lost in 78 days of round-the-clock ops and over 38,000 combat sorties**
- **NATO's largest combat operation in its history**
- **13 of 19 allies contributed forces... 305 aircraft, almost 15,000 sorties**
- **Many operational firsts... but most importantly...**

FRY forces are out of Kosovo... and the process of recovery is well underway under KFOR

Operational Firsts

Impressive combat debuts:

- B-2 / JDAM “Global Reach—Global Power” concept
- SLAM-equipped P-3C AIP
- TLAMS launched by the Royal Navy – 21 launched from HMS **SPLENDID** (and reloaded in-theater)
- C-17 made possible the first-time air deployment of a major, multi-role Army force of M1s, M2s, MLRS, 105 and 155 howitzers, and engineer equipment
- JWAC Tier-4 Collateral Damage predictive modeling validated...time after time...in combat

And broad, multi-dimensional non-combat theater ops continued unabated...

The Air Campaign

Highly effective and superbly executed... but politically constrained

- **Air power was an effective “arrow,” but it was only one arrow in our “quiver”...needed to be complemented by other arrows to be maximally effective**
- **Air strikes were effective against VJ armor only after the UCK launched its major offensive**
- **UCK forced the defending forces to uncover and mass their armor and mechanized forces**
- **Q36/Q37 highly effective in identifying VJ indirect fire assets... but work remains on “sensor-to-shooter”**

After the air campaign, significant ground forces were still required to occupy and secure the area.

Planning and Posturing

Just what is a major campaign?

- **If Serbia took 78 days...**
- **Is everything except SWA and Korea to be a “No Plan” start?**

What does that portend for planning, presence levels and required capabilities?

- **CVBG / ARG presence in the EUCOM AOR?**
- **Army mobility and deployability?**
- **Joint war reserves and sustainability?**
- **The future of low density / high demand assets?**

Short War Syndrome

We called this one absolutely wrong...

- **Affected much of what followed:**
 - **JTF activation, staff composition, facilities, command and control, logistics and execution**
 - **Lack of Coherent campaign planning**
 - **Lack of adequate component staffing**
 - **The race to find suitable targets**
- **OPLAN focused on brief, single-dimension combat**
 - **Deception, diversion & feint opportunities lost**
 - **We failed to plan for branches and sequels**

What will we do next time?

JTF Activation in a Crisis

JTF-NA was not formed around a pre-designated (and trained) theater staff

- **Past paradigms have focused on training and planning for 3-star JTF Commanders only**
- **But major coalition operations of this magnitude require decisive and senior U.S. leadership (4-star)**
- **AFSOUTH / CNE was uniquely positioned to synchronize U.S. and alliance operations**

- **CINCUSNAVEUR staff formed the core cadre...effective, but not optimal**

Implications for theater postures for future?

- **Training and broad investment required**
- **Manning/ infrastructure/ exercise regimes**

Forming a JTF Next Time

Requirement for “JTF in a Box”

- **Plan for fully-functional JTF and component staffs**
- **Identify...or build...facilities, connectivity, SOPs**
- **Develop an augmentee database and training program**
- **Use commercial systems, Joint Communications Support Element(JCSE), Deployable JTF Augmentation Cell (DJTFAC)**
- **Information Management Plan & C41 facility needed for staff, components... and alliance members!**

CNE already working these for Europe

The Political Environment

Affects every aspect of planning and execution

- ✦ **Caused “incremental war” instead of decisive operations**
- ✦ **Excessive collateral damage concerns created sanctuaries... and opportunities... for the adversary – which were successfully exploited**
- ✦ **We did not anticipate the difficulties of NATO out-of-charter operations**
- ✦ **Ruling out a ground option corrupted JFLCC continuity, removed campaign planning, challenged C2, and resulted in a hasty last minute ground planning effort**

Ruling Out Ground Operations

Lack of the credible threat of ground invasion probably prolonged the air campaign

- ✦ **Although never committed to action, TF HAWK was “their worst nightmare” for enemy forces in Kosovo**
 - **The focus of a particularly effective PSYOP effort**
- ✦ **Our only “sequential plan” was to do more of the same... with more assets**
- ✦ **Only the enemy could decide the war was over**

Never say never... or deny yourself credible options

The Ground Component

Lack of a Ground Component Commander was a mistake

- **Even absent a combat ground offensive, the planning and staffing capabilities that an ARFOR would have provided were needed**
- **Shifted significant ground planning responsibilities to the JTF staff – only marginally prepared to handle myriad issues pertaining to Initial Entry Force for Kosovo and TF FALCON**

You won't always know what you need until you need it

Collateral Damage

The new “American Way of War”...

- **Proud to be an American... only nation in the world with all the tools (analytic, modeling, platforms, weapons, training, intelligence)**

- But our allies cannot match us...
- And adversaries will inflict as much CD as possible
- Very expensive... investment required to maintain and improve capabilities (in all areas)
- Creates public expectations... every incident is a perceived failure and will be exploited publicly

Or self-inflicted asymmetric warfare?

A War of Weather

We may own the night... but poor weather creates sanctuaries and operational lulls

- Precision-guided is no longer “good enough”
 - We experienced greater than 50% cloud cover more than 70% of the time... and it wasn't the worst part of the year
 - Laser or EO-guided munitions cannot hit what the pilots cannot see
 - JDAM expenditure equaled the production rate
- GPS-guidance is a requirement and the way ahead... invest accordingly... allies too**

Information Operations

At once a great success... and perhaps the greatest failure of the war

- ✦ First IO Cell activated at the JTF-level
- ✦ All the tools are in place...only a few were used
- ✦ Great people... with great access to leadership... but too junior and from the wrong communities to have the required impact on planning and execution
- ✦ Incredible potential... must become our asymmetric “point of main effort”... but not yet understood by war fighters... and classified beyond their access

Properly executed, IO could have halved the length of the campaign

Public Info & Public Affairs

Not a shining moment for the U.S. or NATO

- ✦ The enemy was better at this than we were... and far more nimble

- The enemy deliberately and criminally killed innocents by the thousand... but no one saw it
- We accidentally killed innocents sometimes by the dozens... and the world watched on the evening news
- We were continuously reacting, investigating and trying to answer “how could this happen?”
- Milosevic had informational “interior lines”

A much underutilized instrument of national and alliance power... ignore it at your peril

Information Technology

Great technology...but needs controls...

- Information saturation is additive to “the fog of war”
- The demand for info will always exceed the capability to provide it... how much is enough?
- You can have too much staff coordination... and for issues that don’t require it
- Still need to “push” critical info vice “posting it” on the web page... no substitute for record traffic
- You can only manage from your DTC... you cannot lead from it

Uncontrolled, it will control you and your staffs... and lengthen your decision-cycle times

Re-Looking IADS Roll-Back

After 78 days of hard campaigning, we effected little degradation on a modern IADS system

- ✦ **Redundant systems and well-trained operators with the discipline to wait for a better opportunity**
- ✦ **Affected tactical employment of airpower throughout the war (altitude restrictions)**
- ✦ **Required significant ISR and SEAD efforts throughout the campaign (stressed LD/HD assets)**

Will we train for this environment... or continue to assume we can take IADS down early?

Self-Inflicted Wounds in Asymmetric Warfare

The enemy benefited from:

- ✦ **The NCA/ NAC target approval processes**

- **Our poor OPSEC posture (NATO and US)**
- **Our inability to wage full IO campaign**
- **Our self-suspension on cluster munitions**
- **Our standards for limiting Collateral Damage**
- **Our aversion to US casualties... and ground combat**
- **Our reactive vs. proactive Public Info/ Public Affairs**

All of the above slowed the “Decide—Act” side of our own OODA loops... and reduced our control of the operational tempo

The next adversary will as well... and may take far better advantage of it

A Glimpse at Urban Warfare

Not yet the “Three Block War” ...but not the Iraqi desert either

- **Future campaigns will have more target areas like Belgrade than Basra... or Route Pack I**
- **Ups the political constraints by an order of magnitude**
- **Allows adversaries to utilize CNN to their best advantage... yields informational “interior lines”**

- Impacts across the spectrum of capabilities: ISR, targeting, munitions, IO, collateral damage, world opinion, coalitions, etc.

We were lucky... but luck is not a principle of war for the next Commander

Low Density/ High Demand

Low density assets were absolutely in high demand

- Impacts of this campaign will be felt for years (platforms, systems, reliability, parts, personnel, retention, replacement costs)
- The trend is in the wrong direction... the demand will only get higher
- The density cannot remain low
- Regardless of service, an issue for joint funding at the highest priority
- We do not leave home without them

And without them... we cannot leave home

Final Thoughts

We succeeded. But what if...

- ✦ **The enemy had attacked front line allies with ground forces... or theater ballistic missiles?**
- ✦ **The enemy had gotten even a few POWs... or KIAs?**
- ✦ **Invasion became the only option?**
- ✦ **The FRY submarine had sortied?**
- ✦ **We were still fighting in winter weather?**
- ✦ **We'd expended our precision munitions stocks?**
- ✦ **Public support had weakened or evaporated?**
- ✦ **France... or Italy (bed down)... had said "enough"?**
- ✦ **North Korea or Iraq had attacked?**

We won't know until the next time